/482 cont./

753 Any strange or rare object can be considered to have given rise to an epidemic. According to their knowledge and understanding, it might be some kind of foreign sorcery.

755 179 The Guaika appreciate our medicine for the treatment of sores and sicknesses, but for them this medicine is simply another enchanted or magical substance.

752 /483/ The treatment which they use for a bee sting is to tie the member thus hurt with a piece of vine or string above the sting. They also suck the poison out of the wound.

The treatment for the bite of a spider or snake is similar, tying and sucking. Later, the croonings are considered appropriate for driving away evil forces.

If a man is wounded by a poisoned dart, the wound is sucked and he will live. If he is wounded where the poison cannot be sucked out, he will quickly die. When an animal or a man is mortally wounded by a poisoned arrow, he falls, loses control of his muscles, and then dies, shuddering, perhaps when the poison reaches the heart or lungs.

751 729 One who has killed an enemy on a raid must sit down on the ground and, taking a little piece of vine (perhaps some two centimeters in length), has to scrape one side of his own head in different places. If he fails to do this, some evil may overtake him.

755 ● 758 Sick persons receive all possible care, in addition to all the incantations and exorcisms which are cast against the opposing forces of the spirits.

758 A sick person is well fed. If it is not possible for him to take certain foods, the Guaika will make every possible effort to get for him what he can eat.

An old woman who had an infection in her mouth and a throat so large that it was almost impossible for her to swallow anything was given honey as food. They tipped her head back and poured the honey into her mouth. They had a fire lighted for her all the time, and someone was with her constantly. When the settlement moved, she was carried on a man's back by means of a strap or cord such as is customarily used for loads or small children.

/483 cont./

758 515 They bathe sick persons. If the patient cannot go to the stream, they bathe him part by part at home and even in his own hammock.

/484/ Death

763 They are generally afraid of death and make every effort to keep a dying person alive for a while longer. When someone is in danger of dying, the relatives and friends hold meetings for lamentations at least once a day.

764 [302] [535] When a dying person expires, a time of mourning begins. Then, at about 3:00 in the afternoon, the funeral begins. The relatives and friends begin to paint themselves. There is much crying and lamentation. The women dance forward and backward, groaning and carrying several poisoned darts in one hand. If there are young children, they are frequently carried also. If the deceased is a little one, its little body may be carried during the final part of this mourning dance. A few closely related men and the intimate friends also participate in the dance.

After the lamentations have continued for a quarter of an hour more or less, the men go out in search of firewood and light a fire of two meters in front of the dwelling where the corpse is lying. When the fire reaches an adequate size, the body is carried there in a hammock made of cords of vine and placed on the fire. Then they put more wood on top of the [766] corpse. If the deceased is an infant, they place it in the fire in a flat basket rather than a hammock. They keep the fire burning [765] until around ten at night. Then they gather up the bones, wrap them in leaves, and hang them in the house.

If someone should die far from the settlement, his body is wrapped in leaves tied with vines and carried to the settlement to be cremated.

765 About three days after the cremation, the bones are pulverized in a small trough and then kept hermetically in a gourd capped with beeswax. The trough is made by using a machete to carve out the hole, burning its interior. They use it only once. After it is used, both the trough and the pestle are burned. Much weeping accompanies the process of pulverization and sealing the remains in the gourd.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

123 From the second day onwards their audacity began to become a nuisance. Pots, pans, empty boxes, string, knives and, of course, machetes, constantly excited their greed and began to disappear, to be concealed among the rocks at the foot of the hills. From then on we had to keep our stores, bags and dixies under lock and key. During the daytime they roamed about the camp, driven by curiosity to see so much that was new, but with the night they would again herd together round their [152] fires at the water's edge. They were very jealous of their women-folk and paid them the most touching attention. One [758] of the women was frequently shaken by violent fits of coughing and each time her mate would bring her a gourd of water he had drawn from the river and support her while she drank. When the coughing started again, the poor man's face would take on an expression of powerless solicitude.

595 As far as I could discover the Guaharibos are monogamous
162 and their women are definitely in the minority—as evidenced by the present group of nine men and two women. When, by
578 means of signs and gestures, we asked the unattached males
684 whether they had no wives, the answer was in each case in the negative. Cardona told us that the most common cause of
838 quarrels among them is raping of the women. We thought
201 that homosexuality was also probably common practice. We
123 had no actual proof of this, but saw many instances of gestures—usually among themselves, but occasionally directed at us—which were, to say the least, equivocal. To the Guaharibos such gestures were obviously natural and proper behaviour.

123 In order to watch their reactions we fired a few rounds of
411 ammunition. Accustomed to the silence of the forest and trained to hear the least rustle of sound, they betrayed instant terror. Clapping their hands over their ears, they fled. We invited them to demonstrate their own weapons. They handled their powerful bows with astonishing ease and accuracy and could send their light arrows, five to six feet long and made of straight reed stems, nearly a hundred yards. With a termite hill some eighteen inches high and twelve inches across as target, they hit it consistently from fifty yards. Shooting

484 plantains to eat en route. Most of the time they did not even carry their hammocks, as these could be easily manufactured from bark strips in a matter of minutes.

[462] [985] Women make several kinds of baskets, including ones to carry the family possessions when the group moves. When the entire village moves, progress is slow and only a few miles are covered each day. The reason for this is that [838] [958] [955] older people and those who are sick travel very slowly, children must be carried by their parents, and food in large quantities must be transported to provision the moving group. Thus, a trip that a group of young men could easily make in one day would require two or three days if the entire village moved that distance.

415 323 The only non-portable[1] (as well as the only durable) item made by the Yąnomamö is a large, heavy, poorly fired [84] [443] clay pot. These are manufactured by only a few villages, which serve as trading centers for this industry. They are [462] [422] [562] made by men and are their property since women are too clumsy to be permitted to handle and use them and would probably break them. When a pot does break, the fragments are used as mortars for grinding drugs, small stone celts, found in the woods by the Yąnomamö, serving as pestles. The larger fragments of a broken pot are used as cooking plates in the [199] manufacture of cassave bread. Despite the fact that most of the Yąnomamö villages have not been contacted directly, the

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[1] The pots are concealed in the garden when the group moves.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

726 If there are novices in the raiding party, the older men will conduct mock raids, showing
701 them how they are to participate. A grass dummy or soft log is frequently employed in
702 this, as was the case in the *waya itou* held in the village the day before the raiders left. Particularly young men will be positioned in the marching party somewhere in the middle of the single file of raiders so they will not be the first ones to be exposed to danger should the raiders themselves be ambushed. These young men will also be permitted to retreat first. Damowä had a twelve-year-old son when he was killed. This boy, Matarawä, was recruited into the raiding party to give him an opportunity to avenge his father's death. The older men made sure he would be exposed to minimum danger, as this was his first raid.

726 The separated groups of raiders approach the village at dawn and conceal themselves near the commonly used paths to the source of drinking water. They wait for the enemy to come to them. A good many of the victims of raids are shot while fetching water.

Frequently, the enemy is wary and acts defensively at all times when there is an [722] active war going on. Only large groups of people can leave the village, and these are well armed. Raiders will not attack a large group such as this. When the enemy is found to be this cautious, the raiders have no choice but to retreat or to shoot volleys of arrows blindly into the village, hoping to strike someone at a distance: They retreat after they release their arrows, depending on the gossip of other villages to learn if their arrows did find their marks. Rarely, one of the raiders will attempt to enter the village during the night and kill someone while he sleeps. Damowä's younger brother allegedly accomplished this on one raid, but few men are brave enough to try it. Most of the time the raiders manage to ambush a single individual, kill him, and retreat before they are discovered. This is considered to be the most desirable outcome of the raid.

722 The women were nervous, frightened, and irritable while the men were away,
[562] and they were constantly on the lookout for raiders from other villages. This is always
*[628] a time to suspect raiders, since allies occasionally turn on their friends when the women are poorly guarded, abducting as many as possible while their husbands are away.

After several days the women were so frustrated and anxious that fights began to
[578] break out among them. One woman got angry because another one, her sister and co-wife,
[593] left her to tend a small baby. When the mother returned, the angry one picked up a piece of firewood and bashed her on the side of her head with it, knocking her unconscious and causing her ear to bleed profusely.

726 The raiders had been gone almost a week when Kąobawä and his youngest brother
484 staggered into the village, nearly dead from exhaustion. Kąobawä's pains had gotten
[641] so bad that he decided to turn back just before they reached the Patanowä-teri village. He could barely walk by that time and would not have been able to elude pursuers should the enemy have given chase. Shararaiwä, his brother, decided to accompany him back lest he run into a group of Patanowä-teri hunters, or his condition grow even more severe. Shortly after they had dropped out of the raiding party, Shararaiwä stepped on a snake and was bitten. The rains had started, and the snakes were beginning to concentrate on the higher grounds, making walking a hazard. His leg began to swell immedi-
• [758] ately, and he could not walk. Hence, Kąobawä had to carry him out on his back, despite the fact that he could barely walk himself. Carrying him for nearly two days, he managed to reach the Orinoco River. Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Sharariwā had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawā was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawā, explaining that they had reached Patanowā-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowā-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwā of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwā with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwā was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowā-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowā. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawā's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawā felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowā's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwā of Kaobawā's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowā-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowā-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawā's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.